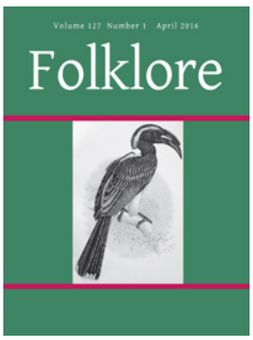

Folklore

ISSN: 0015-587X (Print) 1469-8315 (Online) Journal homepage: http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rfol20

Spinning and Cannibalism in the Greek 'Cinderella': Symbolic Analogies in Folktale and Myth

Marianthi Kaplanoglou

To cite this article: Marianthi Kaplanoglou (2016) Spinning and Cannibalism in the Greek 'Cinderella': Symbolic Analogies in Folktale and Myth, Folklore, 127:1, 1-25, DOI: 10.1080/0015587X.2015.1093821

To link to this article: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0015587X.2015.1093821

Published online: 24 Mar 2016.

Submit your article to this journal

Article views: 5

View related articles

View Crossmark data

Full Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at
http://www.tandfonline.com/action/journalInformation?journalCode=rfol20

Download by: [Library Services City University London] **Date:** 28 March 2016, At: 04:37

Folklore 127 (April 2016): 1–25
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0015587X.2015.1093821

RESEARCH ARTICLE

Spinning and Cannibalism in the Greek 'Cinderella': Symbolic Analogies in Folktale and Myth

Marianthi Kaplanoglou

Abstract

The Greek 'Cinderella' (with 254 versions recorded in the *Catalogue of Greek Magic Folktales*) is articulated around an ambivalent female spinning pair of mother and daughter(s), their intimacy menaced by matricide and/or cannibalistic nuances, explicit or implicit. This rich material is here studied framed by the relevant folkloric data with which traditional Greek audiences of the tales were familiar, as well as by older symbolic layers of myths, beliefs, and rituals regarding spinning, which were juxtaposed, inverted, or disguised in the process of their transmission.

Downloaded by [Library Services City University London] at 04:37 28 March 2016

Introduction: Theoretical Premises and Data

Spinning stands at the core of the Greek 'Cinderella'. Its narrative handling has formed the Greek oikotype of this international tale (Uther 2011; Rooth 1951; Wehse 1981), which, in spite of the increasing popularity since the late nineteenth century of the famous printed versions from Western Europe, today still follows an independent narrative pattern. In the present article the different narrative trends of the tale in Greek oral tradition are studied in relation to the Balkan and wider European tradition, as well as certain traditions ranging from Central Asia to the Middle East.

Spinning is often found in connection with a theme of hunger that culminates in a matricidal, cannibalistic episode. The theme of the cannibal sisters dominant in the Greek tale has received much attention in pioneering works of both Greek and foreign scholars, and a brief presentation of this interpretative frame follows. This emphasizes the initiatory dimension of the tale; in other words, the passage of the heroine, by means of a symbolic death, from puberty to sexuality and marriage through a process of identification and substitution with her mother.

My approach relies on a combination of certain folkloric and anthropological theoretical premises for the following reasons: folktale symbolism is usually related to a multiplicity of factors; anthropological perspectives stress the relation of folktales to culture; and folktales can shed light on the internal processes of the human mind when studied in conjunction with social acts, beliefs, and rituals. Thus, the meaning of a folktale depends on its references to a common cultural background and on the diachronic underlying

© 2016 The Folklore Society

ideas and values of a given folk group. A variety of views, developed in folklore theory, put emphasis on particular narrators and their performances. Variation—a key concept in folklore—results in the formation of dynamic and symbolically polyvalent motifs. In other words, the same motif can hold different symbolic meanings in different narratives. Inversely, the same symbolic meaning can be mediated through different motifs in the same narrative. As a result, a motif has many connotations, all of which contribute to its meaning (Simonsen 1998, 212). Thus, folklorists focus more on the cultural specificity of symbols than on their alignment to a cultural set of underlying ideas and values. In this framework, the specificity of cultural expressions depends on the constraints of the genre as a coherent whole. According to genre theory,

> as a form of discourse any genre constitutes an ontological entity with a defined set of relations between language, symbols and reality. Once a narrative motif or theme is incorporated into any such set, it is subject to the rules of discourse that prevail in the particular form. Thus genres are distinct entities, each dominated by unique qualities that transform all narrative features in accordance with its rules of discourse. (Ben-Amos 1976, xxxi)

From this perspective, even if a mythic pattern could be related to a folktale, it is exploited in an essentially different way. Due to the richness and diversity of the folktale, folktale versions can also exploit differently the mythic core of a story.

In addition, folklore analysis, as much as it links the meaning of the folktale to the narrative function of culturally specific symbols, also considers the practical foundation of folktale symbolism. According to Michalis Meraklis, a transition usually taking place in folk culture is from the material and the natural to the symbolic (Meraklis 1999, 209). For example, the use of ashes as a means of rejuvenation usually found in the Greek 'Cinderella' (Klíma 1977, 857–58) is related to the fact that ashes are a polyvalent material in Greek folk culture with both cleansing/purifying qualities and rejuvenating attributes. As a kind of salt produced from organic material, the ash from the hearth or from the oven was traditionally gathered and used for the production of the *stachtonero* (water with ashes) which, in its turn, was used in the making or preservation of food, in the washing of dishes, in the polishing of metal objects, and in the washing of clothes (Polymerou-Kamilaki 2013, 33). Additionally, the burning of reeds in cereal crop fields when they were prepared for ploughing was a usual practice for the destruction of insects and the fertilization of the soil (Polymerou-Kamilaki 2013, 37).

Methodologically the subject is delineated by the use of published versions, as well as unpublished ones held in the most important Greek archival collections, such as those of the Greek Folklore Society and of the Folklore Archive of the Academy of Athens, plus evidence from micro-data recorded during recent ethnographic research, mostly in the Aegean islands of the Cyclades and the Dodecanese and on Crete.

Spinning is considered a polyvalent symbol because it can be understood in a variety of ways in folk imageries that are subjected to folktale variation and to genre specificity. Thus, an attempt is made here to analyse the symbolic intersection of the two main themes of the tale in the light of Greek folkloric and mythical material—an attempt which may perhaps further clarify the nature of the heroine's initiation.

Downloaded by [Library Services City University London] at 04:37 28 March 2016

The Two Main Subplots of the Folktale in Greece

As is implied in the *Catalogue of Greek Magic Folktales* (Megas et al. 2012, 173–76), the Greek 'Cinderella' unfolds in two main traditions,[1] distinguished not only by their plot elements but also by their geographical distribution.

The Greek Oikotype

The first plot, an oikotype, found in diverse geographical areas but mainly in southern Greece, has the following episodes:

- A mother has three daughters; they spin together and they make a wager; whoever's thread is broken; or finishes her work last; or whose spindle falls from her hands; will be killed and eaten.
- The mother loses the wager; three consecutive times; but her daughters pardon her the first two times; because she carried them in her womb, breastfed them, nursed them, and raised them; finally, the two elder sisters kill and eat their mother.
- (Following her mother's advice) the heroine does not eat her; collects her bones; and puts them in a box (jar, in the hollow of a tree, etc.); she buries them; inside the house (under the fireplace, under the doorstep).
- The heroine constantly sits in the ashes and rakes them; so they call her Stachtopouta (Cinderella); Stachtomaro (Mary in ashes); Athokatsoulo (little cat in ashes); or other names.
- For forty days she performs funerary rites; she burns incense over the bones; she lights a lamp (candle) over them.
- The two elder sisters prepare to go; to church; to the king's ball; and urge their sister to go with them; Stachtopouta refuses to leave the house; saying that she is in mourning for her mother.
- When the forty days have passed, the heroine finds inside her mother's grave; dresses (which are decorated with the heavens and the stars, the earth and its flowers, the sea and fish, etc.); shoes; jewellery; all these are sometimes hidden inside a nut; or Stachtopouta finds the very bones of her mother transformed into clothes.
- The heroine dresses in her mother's gifts and goes in secret to the church (ball); where everyone admires her and wonders who she is; and where the prince sees her and falls in love with her; Stachtopouta leaves quickly (and returns to the ashes); scattering gold coins as she leaves.
- The heroine loses her shoe; when she returns (for the third time) from the church (ball); because the prince places honey on the stairs of the church and one of her shoes becomes stuck.
- The prince tries the shoe on all the maidens in the region in order to find its owner; he finally arrives at the heroine's house; where her sisters hide her in a basket so the prince does not see her (the sisters say that there is a broody hen inside it); her sisters try the shoe on first, but it does not fit them; the prince sits on the basket, and the heroine pricks him with a needle; the prince discovers Stachtopouta; he tries the shoe on her, and it fits.

Downloaded by [Library Services City University London] at 04:37 28 March 2016

- The heroine marries the prince, and they live happily; continuation as ATU 707 (The Three Golden Children); or as ATU 403 (The Black and the White Bride).

An episode of direct matricide is also involved in certain Central Asian versions of the tale, although taking a different form: there, the heroine, deluded by an evil schoolmistress who wants to marry her father, kills her mother following her future stepmother's instructions. Versions of the tale ranging from Central Asia (for Tibetan and Iranian versions, see Schlepp 2002, 123–47) to the Middle East, southern Europe, and the Mediterranean make use of this matricide episode, with the earliest recorded being found in Basile's *Il Pentamerone* (Perco 1993, 73–84). This motif occurs also in Arabic texts and Jewish versions from the Arab lands (Ben-Amos 2011, 423). It is also known in certain Greek texts (Dawkins 1950, 369–93).

Downloaded by [Library Services City University London] at 04:37 28 March 2016

The Slavonic–Balkan Tradition

The second subplot is encountered mostly in continental northern and central Greece (Greek Macedonia and Thessaly). It is less well represented in overall Greek tradition and belongs to the Slavonic–Balkan tradition of the tale (along with Albanian, Serbian, and Bulgarian variants). The Slavonic–Balkan narrative forms part of the international tradition of the tale where an animal or a tree (as an incarnation of the deceased mother) helps the heroine. This second subplot has the following episodes:

- The heroine spins with other girls outdoors; an old man (woman) warns them that whoever does not manage to spin a great quantity of wool within a limited time; or finishes her spinning job last; or drops her spindle into a well; then her mother will be transformed into an animal (cow).
- The heroine fails to accomplish the task; she is slow at spinning; because she eats the unspun wool instead of spinning it; finishes last; drops her spindle into a well; thus her mother is transformed into a cow.
- The father is remarried; the stepmother abuses the heroine; the stepmother gives the heroine a large amount of wool to spin; the helpful animal (her transformed mother) spins the wool in her place; they spin together; the animal assumes her human form in order to spin the wool (in Serbian versions the cow puts the wool in her mouth, chews it, and produces the thread from her ear).
- The stepmother kills, cooks, and eats the cow; along with other members of the family; the heroine does not eat; collects the bones; puts them in a box and buries them.
- The tale then continues as in the first subplot.

In a number of versions, the spinning bet (found in the Greek oikotype) coexists with the transformation of the mother into an animal (sheep) (found in the Balkan tradition). These 'intermediary' versions demonstrate different levels of appropriation of the one plot into the other. This may imply that there is no sharp distinction between these two different narrative schemas, but rather that there exists a connecting thread which may lead from the one to the other.

Downloaded by [Library Services City University London] at 04:37 28 March 2016

The Mother–Daughter(s) Relationship: The Greek Variants in Light of the International Articulation of the Tale

Hermeneutical approaches to the international tale, as well as to the Greek oikotype, are based on a psychoanalytical reading mainly of the relations of the heroine (and her sisters) with her (their) mother and/or the (absent) father. In his comments on 'Smeda-Rmeda', the Jewish-Moroccan 'Cinderella', and the matricide episode found there, Dan Ben-Amos explains the hostility—even condemnation—of Cinderella toward her maternal figure under the psychoanalytical concept of 'splitting'. This is a manifestation of a pathological condition according to which, 'external objects are divided into "all good" ones and "all bad" ones, with the concomitant possibility of complete, abrupt shifts of an object from one extreme compartment to the other' (Ben-Amos 2011, 426). The notion of 'splitting' is used by Bengt Holbek in his analysis of 'Cinderella': 'as the result of two warring attitudes in the heroine's mind' towards her mother, the latter is divided into two figures—a wicked, living stepmother and a kind, dead mother (Holbek 1998, 556–57).

For Mathée Giacomo-Marcellesi the matricide was an episode existing in the origins of the tale, censured and forgotten later when the tale was transmitted in Europe. This primitive crime was nothing other than a fantasy linked to the sufferings of the child at the end of the Oedipal period, according to Freudian theory (Giacomo-Marcellesi 1989, 97–99).

The oikotypical Greek tale too is viewed as a narrativization of a problematic and ambivalent relationship between mother and daughter (Loukatos 1959; Angélopoulos 1989; Xanthakou 1995; Katrinaki 2008; Belmont 2010). An aspect of this relationship is represented by the spinning theme, which, as a feminine occupation, was also a form of knowledge transmitted from mother to daughter that signified the ability of a young woman to be recognized as suitable for marriage (Angélopoulos 1989, 76; Katrinaki 2008, 44–47).

The main question that emerges is this: does a daughter have to kill her mother in order to be separated from her and take her place in the succession of generations; in other words, in order to be able to marry and become a mother in her turn? And as far as the Greek versions are concerned, does she have to eat her too?

Emmanouela Katrinaki aptly notes that the beginning of the tale is preoccupied with the problem of nourishment (Katrinaki 2008, 32–36). In ATU 511 (type A, according to Anna Birgitta Rooth, representing the most archaic form of the Cinderella cycle), nourishment plays a very important role. In one form of this type (AII) the heroine is starving; her stepmother, whose daughters have, respectively, one eye, two eyes, and three eyes, does not feed her. Nevertheless, the girl is given food by a helpful animal, often a cow, which is sometimes her transformed mother. She also receives help from the cow when she is assigned to spin a substantial quantity of wool or cotton. The stepmother kills the cow, the girl buries her intestines, and a tree grows from the place. Only the girl can reach and cut its fruits in order to offer them to the prince and marry him (Rooth 1951, 16–17 and 37). In India and the Near East, according to Rooth, another form of type A also exists (AI) where two orphan children are fed by an animal and later by a tree which grows in

the place where the bones of the animal killed by the stepmother are buried (Rooth 1951, 15–16).

The heroine of the Greek tales resembles then the heroine of type AB (a prolonged and later form of type A, in Rooth's system), since she receives help from her mother who is transformed into a cow (which is eaten by the other daughters, or killed and eaten in her human form). What distances the Greek versions from Rooth's type AB is the absence of the stepmother and the presence of the actual mother of the three girls—a mother who does not give them food to appease their hunger but becomes food herself.

As Katrinaki notes, the deeper relation between the Greek tale and Rooth's types A and AB of the international Cinderella cycle thus lies in the nourishment theme which emanates from the mother. This theme has been elaborated in different forms until it becomes a cannibalistic fantasy (Katrinaki 2008, 51). The tale captures the mother at the moment when her double maternal role as a breeder and an educator is accomplished and she has to give up her role and her functions to her daughters; thus, she has to die. This symbolic death then signifies the indispensable separation of the daughters from the mother. Nevertheless, the mourning of Stachtopouta, who abstains from eating her mother and concludes her separation from her by executing the appropriate funerary rites, is opposed to the cannibalism of her sisters. By reducing their mother to a nourishment source, these latter are united with her and they cannot take her place, marry, and become women in their turn. In psychoanalytical terms, it is about an oral regression of the two sisters which condemns them never to have access to sexual maturation and marriage (Katrinaki 2008, 47–49). The same cannibalistic fantasy is hidden behind the transformations of the mother to a feeding animal and tree. Nevertheless, contrary to the Greek versions, in types A and AB there is no question of either actual cannibalism or of matriphagy. Furthermore, the theme moves outside the family, since, in certain versions, it is the stepmother who eats the helpful animal (Katrinaki 2008, 54).

The dowry of Stachtopouta implies, according to Katrinaki (2008, 56), the idea of initial identification with the mother (the bones of the mother are transformed into clothing), and then of substitution which follows the separation concluded during the period of mourning. In Freudian psychological terms, identification is an ambivalent process connected with the Oedipus complex. The boy desires to be like his father and also desires to replace him beside his mother. From the combination of these two tendencies emerges the Oedipus complex. The identification takes on a hostile dimension and corresponds to the desire to substitute for one's father. The same process takes place for the young daughter who identifies with her mother while simultaneously desiring to replace her beside the father. This separation will permit the succession of generations and the transmission of feminine roles from mother to daughter. The passage from the state of the nubile girl to the one of a married woman is then conditioned by the mother herself and the relationship of the daughter with her. Yvonne Verdier describes a similar process regarding the 'Petit Chaperon Rouge' (Red Riding Hood):

> the macabre meal of the Petit Chaperon Rouge should be understood in relation with feminine destiny, performed in three phases: young girl, mother, grandmother. The cycle of reproduction is found, from a social point of view, completed when a daughter becomes

Downloaded by [Library Services City University London] at 04:37 28 March 2016

> mother, and, from this fact, her mother becomes grandmother. (Verdier 1995, 184; my translation)

For Nicole Belmont, Stachtopouta is close to a mythical figure: the goddess of the hearth, Hestia. The relationship of the heroine with the ashes evokes also her relation to mourning and death (Belmont 2010, 244–59). The three sisters of the tale have been also symbolically equated with the three *Moirai* (the mythical three spinning Fates), since the destiny of the mother in the tale depends absolutely on spinning (Xanthakou 1995). Forming part of a broader symbolism in ancient as well as modern Greek culture, folk beliefs identify the human lifespan with a length of spun thread and clothing with the human body (Meraklis 1989, 126–36). That human life was equated with an amount of spun thread is evident in many legends about the Fates (Politis 1904, 559–64). The mythical Fate(s) present at birth determine the length of the thread which is to be spun, corresponding to a person's lifespan. The spinning continues while a person is still alive. When the spinning stops and the thread of life is cut by the one of them (Atropos), a person dies (Politis 1871–74, 2: 236; Lawson 1910, 123–24; Megas 1967, 316–32; Brednich 1964, 158–64).

These comparisons show the mythical depth of the Cinderella tale and of the third sister, under the figure of whom Sigmund Freud has recognized the figure, or the goddess, of death. In his 'The Theme of the Three Caskets', Freud examines four feminine figures: Cordelia (the third daughter of Shakespeare's King Lear), Aphrodite (in the myth of the judgement of Paris), Cinderella, and Psyche, associating them with the three sisters symbolizing destiny—the Moirai, or Parcae, or Norns, of whom the third is called in Greek Atropos 'the Inexorable' (Freud 1971). The Greek versions of 'Cinderella', by showing three spinning sisters, corroborate Freud's interpretation and support the associations he made even without knowing of the spinning Stachtopouta (Katrinaki 2008, 47).

Greek versions of 'Cinderella' have formed part of Francisco Vaz da Silva's research about the symbolic tenor of European Cinderella themes (Vaz da Silva 2000a, 2000b, 2007b, 2014). For Vaz da Silva, cinders are a death-connoting symbol; the heroine is relegated by the stepmother's tyranny to a temporary death, only to emerge as a living image of her mother. Moreover, both the excessively loving father (of subtype ATU 510 B) and the relentlessly hating stepmother of 'Cinderella' represent the dead mother in apparently monstrous ways, as they bring about the deceased woman's rejuvenation through the daughter who is then ready for marriage and motherhood in her turn. The heroine's identity with the mother requires that the older woman die at the outset (Vaz da Silva 2000a, 162–72).

For Vaz da Silva, a circular movement characterizes this process of death and resurrection. There is typically an inverted correlation between the mother (marvellously beautiful) and the stepmother (usually similar to a witch), on the one hand; and between the heroine who is plunged into darkness and emerges therefrom in full radiance and her envious stepsister who becomes black, on the other. The two stepsisters (replicating the relationship between mother and stepmother) are therefore as two aspects of one single entity, the 'black' dimension of which emerges on stage whenever the bright one is put into darkness (Vaz da Silva 2000a, 163). These observed modes of cyclical duality

Downloaded by [Library Services City University London] at 04:37 28 March 2016

strongly suggest that to be enchanted amounts to reverting to an ophidian condition. Exposing the metonymic analogies of the symbolic themes of the Cinderella cycle, Vaz da Silva argues that

> to live under a 'black' woman's tyranny in cinders (oftentimes represented as a 'cinders skin'), to go under a hide, to follow through water the entrails of a horned animal, to become a bird and to join a serpent underground are so many images of a symbolic death represented in terms of a shape-shifting second skin, the shedding of which figures rebirth. (Vaz da Silva 2000a, 167)

Menstruation is also an internal changing of skin. 'From the perspective of the continuity between the dead mother and her daughter, the dead mother's image reappearing at her prime through her daughter's shed [*sic*] of a skin therefore suggests the self-rejuvenation of an ophidian entity' (Vaz da Silva 2000a, 164). Like the girl visiting Mother Holle's underwater realm in the Grimms' collection and getting her golden hue from Mother Holle after spending a snowy winter underground, Aschenputtel in the same collection receives her clothes from a tree she planted on her mother's tomb after the thaw. In both instances, the means for the heroine's marriage then come from the underground/underwater realm of the dead; either from her mother, or from Holle, the equivalence between these two implying the interchangeability between permanence under cinders and a sojourn in the netherworld (Vaz da Silva 2000b, 194).

Likewise, tools of sewing are often connected with menarcheal girls. Pins are also perceived as symbols of accession to puberty (menstruation) in the life of a young girl (Verdier 1979, 1995), while pricked fingers, as well as thorns, represent feminine bleeding in connection with potential fertility (Vaz da Silva 2007b, 245).

Taking into account the interpretative framework described briefly above, one may reconsider the polyvalence of spinning symbolism in relation to folktale narrators and the underlying folk beliefs and practices they could have in mind. What perhaps should be stressed is the interdependence between the two subplots of 'Cinderella' in Greece, which are characterized by certain similarities or inversions. In other words, how do the homologous scenes of the mother breaking the thread (in the oikotypical versions) and of the daughter failing to finish her job, or finishing last (in the northern Greek versions following the Balkan tradition), fit together? How are these failed spinners compared with an accomplished one, appearing later, after the mother's death (in the form of the cow producing abundant amounts of thread, or the grateful dead whose bones are transformed into beautiful clothing)? Likewise, how are the starving spinners (in the oikotypical versions) juxtaposed with a child well fed by the helpful animal (in the northern and intermediary versions)? Additionally, in both subplots, spinning is conceived of as a collective activity, whereas a spinning contest always emerges, explicit in the oikotypical versions (the cannibalistic wager), implicit in the northern ones (contest among a group of neighbouring girls). Whoever fails this contest (mother or daughter), it is always the mother's life that is threatened and brought to an end.

It is now necessary to proceed with the study of broader folkloric data regarding spinning and cannibalism in order to situate the tale in its social and cultural context, keeping in mind the specificity of cultural expressions. In other words, both themes as articulated in Stachtopouta are determined by 'the constraints specific to the genre of fairy tale' (to use Michèle Simonsen's phrase). After the examination of the folkloric data

Downloaded by [Library Services City University London] at 04:37 28 March 2016

one can then to return to the tale in order to see how relevant folk beliefs evolved and adapted into narrative form.

The Folkloric Data

From this rich, long, and varied tradition, local storytellers develop symbols conforming to their micro-ethnographic context, reshaping them through collective and personal experience. Folk beliefs, legends, and folktales acquire their meaning in specific social contexts, but, inversely, they can also be expressions of symbols surviving in a new environment. The attachment of Greek narrators of 'Cinderella'—usually women—to the spinning theme corresponds to the essential role of spinning (as well as its implements) in women's everyday activities, but also draws on its many symbolic connotations concerning fundamental elements of human existence (birth, marriage, initiation of a girl into womanhood, death, fate). In this framework, it would be useful to examine to what extent certain of these beliefs—found in, but not necessarily restricted to, Greek folk culture—were preserved in narrative form as well.

Spinning as a Metaphor for Motherhood

Spinning, as a narrative theme, usually absorbs potent features of experience in rural communities. In the framework of a self-sufficient home economy, it was a common occupation not only for unmarried women but for married women also, during the day as well as during the night. The importance of weaving is evident in traditional professions and activities (Korre-Zografou 2004–10), in the familial organization, and in the social role of women in familial folklore (Meraklis 2000, 24–45). In general, from a social point of view, spinning was a desirable feminine task (Rumpf 1985, 59–72; Olsen 1999, 21–42). It was then considered, in social life and fairy-tale fantasy alike, as a basic test of marital initiation.

However, in folk thought, spinning gives rise to other profound analogies as well. Turning to the Balkans, Georges Drettas studies rural weaving in Bulgaria (from the west of the country to the massif of Rhodopes), in comparison with examples from Greek Macedonia. In this remarkable study of spinning and weaving practices, and also of the precautions regulating these activities and their magical and ritual usages, Drettas underlines that in the framework of a familial organization of production, technical knowledge was transferred from mother to daughter. Thus, a young girl, during the years preceding her marriage, was weaving to produce her trousseau, while after her marriage she continued to weave to cover the needs of familial consumption and also in order to teach her own daughter to weave (Drettas 1980, 283). Daughters began to weave alongside their mothers, the apprenticeship period beginning quite early, at the age of twelve. Drettas points out that even if every female individual could weave (whatever her status: nubile, married, with or without children, widowed, or divorced), there is a stable analogy between the role of women as producers of clothes and their role as producers of children (Drettas 1980, 276).

First, spinning presents an analogy of form: the spindle which changes its volume with the enrolled thread is like the feminine body bearing the child, both movements being

Downloaded by [Library Services City University London] at 04:37 28 March 2016

towards increasing roundness (Drettas 1980, 245). In folk thought, 'The child as well as the cloth which envelops it comes from the woman' (Drettas 1980, 284). Therefore, the metaphorical extension of the term *majka*, 'mother', designates in certain Bulgarian dialects the act of weaving or certain pieces of the cloth produced. For example, in many villages of central Rhodopes, the central piece of cloth, which has a hole for the head and serves as the basis of a shirt, is called 'majka' as well. If one takes into consideration both the metaphorical extensions of the kinship term majka (mother) and certain terms found in the technical vocabulary of weaving (from a lexical field that includes parts of the job, textiles produced, and types of seam), a common trait emerges involving the differences in materials. In both cases there is a relation between a 'thicker' central part and one or more 'finer' parts. These parts are always constituents of a whole. The analogy considers, in fact, the relation of filiation from the matrilineal angle (Drettas 1980, 464). In a society which explicitly marks its patrilineality, and where, by tradition, a child receives from its mother only life, one can observe a series of metaphors that make the mother the central part, or the base, of a whole (Drettas 1980, 465).

Mirjam Mencej, working on the basis of rich material ranging from the Old Norse sagas to the Vedas and from Slavic riddles to Christian iconography, points out that there is a symbolic equivalence between the state of a child before birth (i.e. in the otherworld) and unspun wool, and likewise between a child once it has been born into this world and the spun thread (Mencej 2011, 66–69). According to these beliefs, a newborn child is coming from the otherworld as a spun thread. This idea is also connected with the more general symbolism of spinning and thread as a link between the worlds of the living and of the dead (Mencej 2011, 66), for which the folk song 'Bridge of Tricha' (Bridge made of thread) forms the Greek example (Lambakis 1982, 160). In this framework, the making of textiles would be akin to the making of a person, a kind of birth process that confirms the symbolic equivalence between spinning and conceiving. Thus, the process of spinning (the turning of the unspun wool to spun thread) is used as an analogy for procreation and childbirth.

Relevant folk beliefs in modern Greece represent the spun wool as an unborn baby and spinning as a childbirth process. During marriage rituals, the bride, when she first enters the house of her husband (where she is going to live from now on), could receive a silk cocoon put by her mother-in-law between her breasts. This gesture symbolizes that the bride has been 'fertilized', so that she may bear many children and be prosperous (Tsitsipis 1981, 103). In folk speech, there is also a recurrent symbolic analogy between spinning and pregnancy/childbirth, such as the one that underlies the metaphor of the folk riddle: '*arapitsa* (a black girl) is spun and her belly grows or has the pains of labour', which signifies the spindle (Chatzitaki-Kapsomenou 2000, 129–33). The analogy of spinning or weaving with the gradual passage of the newborn from non-existence to social being is given in the proverb: 'a child *asarantisto* (who is not yet forty days old) and a cloth not yet woven, no human should see them'. Likewise, the proverb 'Everything is the weft of the womb and the bread is the warp' contains the same analogy between weaving and childbearing.

Spinning is also equated with the baking of bread as an alternative symbol of childbearing and motherhood. In certain versions of folktale type 501, spinning takes place inside the oven: the Fate(s) instruct(s) the girl to put the wool inside the oven from

Downloaded by [Library Services City University London] at 04:37 28 March 2016

where it comes out ready. The heroine must not interrupt the preparation of the oven, which constitutes a metaphorical image of pregnancy, and she must neither open the oven nor look inside, because if she should open it prematurely, the fabrics will burn and the groom will expel her. One might add, following the comments of Anna Angélopoulos, that the raw material which is turned into fabric/thread in this oven (womb) is the developing embryo which is prepared just like bread is baked (Megas et al. 2012, 160).[2] Thus, spinning and the baking of bread in the oven provide complementary symbolic analogies for motherhood alike.

Folktales also emphasize the idea of spinning as a function of the female body (like the oven metaphor). A well-known wonder motif is that of an ogress who performs normal domestic chores in a bizarre manner: she spins by passing the thread from her tongue, which consequently bleeds. Accordingly, the three deformed spinners (Fates) with the enormous arms, lips, or teeth may suggest a closer connection of spinning with the body.[3] It may be that these themes, usually developed in a parodic or grotesque way, originated in a more serious archaic idea that spinning is a natural process which involves only the female body. The idea of spinning as a bodily function is also manifested in 'Cinderella', in the image of the mother-cow producing thread out of her body.

Taking this symbolic framework into account, one may consider the tale as a narrativization of the relevant folk beliefs, the homologous or inverted scenes in the two subplots indicating a type of correlation: shortage of food is accompanied by shortage of thread (a spinning task interrupted), while abundant food is produced along with abundant thread. If both are considered as maternal symbols, then the initiation of the heroine takes on aspects of a motherhood test, seemingly important in her initiation process. In this test, first failed, but later accomplished, the mother is always involved and is considered responsible. In the northern versions (following the Balkan tradition of the tale), it is the heroine herself who fails the test (does not complete her spinning task). In this case, since spinning (motherly) qualities are transmitted from mother to daughter, then the heroine's failure is due to a faulty transfer of knowledge, for which her mother is again responsible. Indirect matricide then results.

In the southern versions it is the mother who fails, but her starving daughters are far from attaining the status of accomplished spinners (and thus assuming motherly qualities). Instead, they regress to childhood images of nurturing, breastfeeding, and fulfilment, contrasted to their present state of hunger, as their dialogue with their mother implies: 'we forgive you because you bore us, fed us, nursed us'.

However, the mother's death marks a change of status both for her and for her daughter: the mother is transformed into a helpful animal, resuming the roles of breeder and spinner for the sake of the heroine. Otherwise, the image of the mother-cow producing abundant amounts of thread out of her body underlines the idea of spinning as a woman's bodily function, like lactation. Meanwhile, in the oikotypical versions, the mother as a grateful dead figure assumes her motherly attributes by procuring magnificent clothes for the heroine. In both procedures, Stachtopouta keeps close to her mother, the role of the latter as an educator remaining intact.

In the framework described above, the hostility of the starving daughters towards a mother who fails to fulfil her motherly attributes has a vengeful quality. Could these

Downloaded by [Library Services City University London] at 04:37 28 March 2016

vengeful children become cannibals? This also seems to be an idea not restricted only to folktales, but present in other narrative genres and folk practices as well.

Vampire and Cannibal Children

In birth rituals mother and child are placed in a state of liminality, which explains the many analogies existing between birth and burial customs. They both share a transitional condition of temporary seclusion in the realm of the dead, their isolation signifying a state of marginality (according to the triple distribution of the rites of passage of Arnold Van Gennep). Mother and child are considered as a unified couple, their absolute proximity making them both magically powerful, but at the same time vulnerable, mainly to forces they exercise upon one another. This period was traditionally regulated by various sorts of taboos and restrictions regarding the real dangers the mother and the newborn faced (such as severe illnesses), or reflecting the lurking collective fear in cases where the potential violation of social rules and moral constraints (cruelty, abandonment, or murder) placed the newborn out of the community's bounds. Thus, as long as the infant remained exclusively within the birth mother's sphere of influence (mainly, among Orthodox Christians, before baptism), it was vulnerable to her demonic equivalents: female supernatural creatures, such as the *nereids* (fairies), the *lamias* (female demons), the *striglas*, or the Gello.[4]

These supernatural mother-figures are usually of ambivalent nature. The nereids and the lamias were formerly considered responsible for infant diseases or deaths—legends reporting that they strangled children or drowned them or carried them off. At the same time, these figures are associated with fertility, motherhood, lactation, nourishment, and the hearth. In particular, the lamias and the nereids are figures with big breasts which they throw behind their backs in order to feed their babies when they knead dough. There are also mythical beings called *monobyzes* (women with one breast), who are of gigantic proportions. The *drakissa* (female ogre) of Greek folktales uses her breasts to clean the oven. In magic rituals, lactation is connected with the hearth; for example, when a woman's breast aches, in order for the pain to pass she has to put on it the cloth used to clean the oven.

Demonic women exhibit a real control of spinning, manifested in their ability to spin abundant amounts of thread (Köhler-Zülch 2007, 1064–68). One can see the relevance of Politis's ideas that these female figures (fates, nereids, lamias) who are strongly connected with spinning are simultaneously goddesses who act as *psychopompoi* (guides of souls to the underworld) (Politis 1871–74, 1: 113; 2: 236).

The ambivalent symbolic representations of these mythical feminine forces in the folk thought of Greek and other Balkan peoples, juxtaposed with their kinship systems, show that the latter were not exclusively patrilineal.[5] It seems that the two lines of descent (from the father and from the mother) are, at least on the imaginary level, in constant conflict, as legends about the battles of male and female mythical beings show.[6] Eleutherios Alexakis thinks that the mythical feminine beings connected with lactation and nourishment were considered malicious because in the framework of a dominant patrilineal system the feminine–motherhood role and matrilineal kinship (which emphasizes the role of lactation) were underestimated (Alexakis 1999, 60). He maintains

Downloaded by [Library Services City University London] at 04:37 28 March 2016

Downloaded by [Library Services City University London] at 04:37 28 March 2016

that economic and social changes, and changes in the kinship systems, influenced the more archaic symbols, which, even if resisting, were covered with new myths and legends which are more related to eroticism and fertility (conception), rather than fertility and motherhood (birth) (Alexakis 1999, 64).

Alexakis also believes that these modern legends about lamias as figures associated with fertility, motherhood, lactation, and the hearth, but at the same time with the death of infants, may result from matriarchal ideas about the 'primordial womb' from which humans are born and to which they return (1999, 61). 'The dead rejuvenate from tomb to womb, afterwards to reincarnate so as to progress from womb to tomb', as Vaz da Silva maintains (2008, 75). Additionally, following an analogy for which Aeschylus's Erinyes–Eumenides pair forms a template,[7] the supernatural women of Greek legend and belief may reflect the survival of archaic but tenacious ideas in a new regime, which ascribes to them a vengeful quality. Alternatively, they may experience a consequent transformation of their initial role, from complex symbols of life and death to simplified personifications of evil.

Accordingly, newborns were also thought to be agents of a vengeful power resulting from a failed or abnormal childbirth, caused in turn by different kinds of transgressions, usually attributed to the mother. Thus, vampirism or cannibalism were exercised by a dead child (made into a vampire) over the mother, the other relatives, the co-villagers, and the domestic animals: 'it is said that supposedly the unbaptized children, who are buried outside the borders of the church . . ., the illegitimate children killed (drowned) by their mothers, that they become *smerdakia*' (demons appearing as animals or hairy children responsible for the death of sheep) (Politis 1904, 325). In the framework of Orthodox Christianity, relevant beliefs assumed a religious character: children born during the period of Christmas (therefore conceived during another important Christian feast, the feast of the Annunciation, celebrated on 25 March) were considered *kallikantzaroi*.[8] Similarly, according to folk beliefs to which the quality of belief legend can be attributed, girls born during the twelve days from Christmas to Epiphany (thus again conceived during the feast of the Annunciation) were called *giortopiasma* (children conceived on a Christian feast day) and became striglas with 'fiery eyes and big teeth. The midwives, who can recognize such monsters, always strangle them, but they come back at night and suck the blood of anyone they can catch' (from Chalkios, Chios in Argenti and Rose 1949, 244–45).[9] Likewise, girls born on Christmas Day, unless they were baptized at once, became striglas—in this case, they were called *gelloudia*, 'descendants of Gello', and it was mainly they who attacked infants (Oikonomides 1975–76, 250). Infants who died before being baptized were transformed into *telonia* (vampires in childlike form), torturing people like the kallikantzaroi did. The demonic child also threatened his or her siblings. This child was named *adelphophas* (the eater of his brothers and sisters) (Kanellakis 1890, 363). The magic power of newborns is hinted at in the name used for unbaptized children in many parts of Greece (in order to be magically protected): *drakos* (ogre) for the boys and *drakou* (ogress) or *strigliko* (the descendant of a strigla) for the girls. It is important to note that the main characteristic of the drakos is that he is a cannibal.

The same themes can be presented in a more elaborate or narrativized form. In a Thracian version of the very well-known (in the Greek tradition) folktale of the 'Strigla' (ATU 315A), the cannibal baby (who eats domestic animals, its siblings, its parents, and

finally the whole village) is born from the wish of her mother, who, bearing only boys until then, prayed God to 'give me a little girl, even if she is a dev' (a kind of anthropophagic ogre). In other versions, the birth of the daughter through magic, or some agreement with shady individuals who know recipes and folk remedies, can give to a mother of sons her only daughter (often in exchange for the life of her sons).

Not only the mother or the child as whole beings, but also their connecting parts during pregnancy were considered agents of hostile or supernatural power. In Epirus and Greek Macedonia the placenta was burnt by the midwife or cut into pieces and buried in order not to revive and return to take the child (Chryssantopoulou 2007, 50–51). At the same time it was considered a holy thing (because 'it grows with the child', according to the belief of Pontic refugees in Macedonia) and it was used by sterile women, who sat on it in order to conceive.

Commenting on the role of vampire lore in the social organization of Greek communities, Evangelos Avdikos departs from Juliet du Boulay's argument that a vampire both threatens and stabilizes a society, in order to support an argument that vampirization (the causes of becoming a vampire) is due to a disregard of the kinship networks and value system of the community (e.g. in indifference shown by the deceased to his or her parents). Thus, the appearance of a vampire both implied a social crisis but, at the same time, offered younger persons the opportunity for initiation into the value system of the community by means of a particular example (Avdikos 2013, 316–17). Vampirization of infants was then connected with their mothers' transgressive acts, such as abandonment or infanticide. Along the same lines, Katrinaki suggests that legends about changeling children[10] and fairy mothers are constituted on the base of the mechanisms of projection and negation. According to Katrinaki, the fairies of these legends are the doubles of the human mothers as the changelings are the doubles of human children. Therefore, these narratives explore the ambivalent sentiments of the mother towards her child; the love and desire to protect, but also the despair in cases where a baby was severely ill and the consequent negation of the fact: the child was not hers, it was a changeling. This belief drove people to real action, to practices of real abandonment (Katrinaki 2012, 28–29; see also Brouskou 1988).

Distancing himself from a functionalistic reading of these stories, Jeremy Harte offers a different analysis: he thinks stories about changelings are something more than charter legends for the euthanasia of children with birth defects, devised when Christian teaching on the sanctity of human life came into conflict with the older practice of child abandonment. These stories then form part of an older symbolic framework, since rituals for curing sick children by putting them in danger had existed before the rise of the changeling story (Harte 2011).

Reframed in the context of customs about the mother–child ritual separation, as exhibited in a wide variety of customs, these beliefs can then receive a different explanation. Relevant customs always come forth in cases where one or both of them are in danger: the *taximo* (the naming of a child after a saint), practised even today in different parts of Greece; the *sklavoma* (the dedication of a child to a saint); the *kalogeroma* (for a period of time the child becomes a 'monk', is dedicated to a saint, is dressed in black clothes, and is called not by his/her name but 'monk' or 'nun'); or the symbolic 'selling' of the child to a stranger. All these are different manifestations of the same idea for a ritual

Downloaded by [Library Services City University London] at 04:37 28 March 2016

Downloaded by [Library Services City University London] at 04:37 28 March 2016

removal of the endangered child from his or her mother or, more generally, exclusion from the family home; an idea related to the concept of the 'alastor', or avenging, demon of Greek mythology.

References to the abandonment of infants in the mountains or other deserted places—for which the term *chytrizin* ('to put inside an *ostrako* or a *chytra*', which are both concave ceramic vessels) was used—are made by Aristophanes in his comedies *Vatrachoi* (The Frogs) and *Sphikes* (The Wasps). The ancient term was used for the exposure of unwanted infants by their parents or by midwives, as well as for the burial of dead babies in ceramic wares. Writing during the Greek Enlightenment about the customs of ancient Athenians, Grigorios Paliouritis mentions the continuation of this 'very bad habit' until his days 'because of the lack of orphanages' (Paliouritis 1815, 224). Nevertheless, he adds that certain compassionate parents tie onto the exposed infants certain valuable objects in case, if someone finds them, they may keep and raise them, motivated by the profit. This last comment hints that the ultimate purpose of the abandonment might be not the death but the rescue of the baby through ritual separation and transposition to another family.

Thus, if reframed in the context of belief and ritual practice, the spinning and cannibalistic metaphors of Stachtopouta, although representing two symbolic extremes, both reflect the absolute closeness of the mother–child pair. The spinning, belonging to a system of generalized analogies between spinning and childbirth, corresponds to a symbolic expression of the maternal authority over the child. Alongside this, cannibalism exercised by a dead child over the mother forms the child's vengeful power, resulting from a failed childbirth. In this framework, the ritualistic separation between mother and child expresses, in an inverse way, their absolute intimacy through this birth, death, and rebirth continuum.

These ideas make evident that even if spinning/weaving was associated with marriage, both literally (as a task of a bride and a good wife) and metaphorically (sexual union), it was also strongly symbolically framed by another belief system where initiation to motherhood (rather than to sexuality and marriage) was of prime importance. The separation of these two spheres still exists in modern folk beliefs, where, for example, lactation and conception are considered as opposites to one another.

However, an enduring conflict emerges for the female spinners of the myth and the folktale to overcome, since spinning/weaving as a metaphor of marriage and sexual union is juxtaposed with the idea of a primordial woman (or female animal) who spins life out of her body.

The Mythical Data

The basic introductory components of the Greek 'Cinderella' (the spinning/weaving heroines, the lethal bet, the spinning/weaving contest, the transformation into an animal, the matricide, the cannibalism) are also developed in the mythical cycle of Arachne (the spider). The following sections seek to determine whether these different narrative genres of the folktale and of the myth may have complementary or conflicting implications for spinning symbolism, in general, or for the role of the female spinners in particular.

Downloaded by [Library Services City University London] at 04:37 28 March 2016

Arachne and the Daughters of Cecrops

Weaving as a metaphor of marital union and an extension of civic order and unity is of fundamental importance in ancient Greek thought. The 'conjugal weaving' defining the erotic and marital significance of weaving and the woven robe is a relevant central concept from the times of the pre-Socratic Pherecydes of Syros who included it in his cosmogony (Scheid and Svenbro 1994, 72–74). The interlacing of warp and woof described by Plato in the *Statesman* is an interweaving signifying the union of opposites.

Spinning/weaving metaphors in relation to ideas about creation are connected by Mircea Eliade with the work of the spider: 'For to weave is not merely to predestine (anthropologically), and to join together differing realities (cosmologically) but also to create, to make something of one's own substance as the spider does in spinning its web' (Eliade 1958, 181). In creation and cosmological myths, the spider is considered as a mother symbol (Weigle 1989, 23). In fact it is the mythical Arachne (spider) with whom the spinning/weaving and matricide/cannibalism themes of 'Cinderella' are also associated. The weaving contest between Athena and Arachne, ending with the punishment of Arachne and her transformation into a spider, is more widely known from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (book 6). However, there is a different story about Arachne, which provides another example of actual matricide of a mother-weaver. The scholiast to Nicander's *Theriaca* gives the following story attributed to Theophilus, a pupil or follower of Zenodotus:

> Theophilus, of the School of Zenodotus narrates that there were once two siblings in Attica. Phalanx, the male and the female, named Arachne. Phalanx learned from Athena the craft of war, while Arachne the craft of weaving. Because they [the brother and sister] had intercourse, they were despised by the goddess and were transformed into *herpeta*, which are eaten by their own children. (Nicander 1530, 2; my translation)

The scholiast uses the term *herpeta* (reptiles). Nevertheless, the story is mentioned in the framework of Nicander's description of *phalangia* (which for Nicander designates the general category of spiders, while for other ancient scholars *phalangion* is a kind of venomous spider). Thus, the story is apparently an aetiological myth about the creation of spiders.

Sarah Iles Johnston considers this myth in association with the ritual of the *Arrhephoroi* and the myth of the three daughters of Athens's first king, Cecrops (Johnston 2009). The Arrhephoroi, who were young girls chosen from noble families to take part in the Panathenaia celebration, were involved in a ritualistic manner in the fabrication of a new *peplos* (a long, draped garment) woven by Athenian girls and women, for Athena Polias ('of the city') at her temple on the Acropolis. One of the duties of the Arrhephoroi was also to carry a package unopened during the night from the priestess of Athena on the Acropolis to the temple of Aphrodite in the gardens at the bottom of the Acropolis. Then they had to carry a package back, again unopened, from the priestess of Aphrodite to the priestess of Athena.

The relevant myth associated with this ritual is about the three daughters of Cecrops (Aglauros, Pandrosus, and Herse) who were charged by Athena to guard a basket which they were not allowed to open. They did anyway and they saw the baby Erichthonius entwined in snakes. Maddened with fright, the girls were killed by jumping from the

Downloaded by [Library Services City University London] at 04:37 28 March 2016

Acropolis. Walter Burkert has discussed the connection between this myth and the festival called the Arrhephoria. He maintains that the myth of the daughters of Cecrops narrates a premature, improper introduction to motherhood and its concomitant sexuality, while the ritual of the Arrhephoroi enacts a proper introduction, during which girls travel from the realm of Athena, the virgin goddess, to the realm of Aphrodite, the goddess of sexuality, and then back again, fulfilling two tasks needed for their initiation to marriage: an introduction to sexuality (as wives and mothers) and the mastering of spinning and weaving (as a good wife's task). The Arrhephoroi, as Burkert points out, return holding something wrapped in a cloth, a small child probably (Burkert 2001, 47–49).[11]

These ideas explored in the most central Athenian festival and its accompanying myths are more briefly articulated in the myth of Arachne and Phalanx in the story attributed to Theophilus:

> a young Athenian virgin (Arachne), whose tutelage by Athena implicitly makes her the representative of all Athenian virgins, embarks on learning one of the most important skills that she will need as a wife—weaving—but spoils her transition by trying to acquire the other prerequisite of the wife—an introduction to sexuality—preemptively and with the wrong partner. The story of Arachne and Phalanx takes things a step further than the story of the Cecrop's daughters, however. The actions of Arachne and Phalanx contravene not only the rules of proper behavior for virgins but also the rules of proper civic behavior: a 'marriage' that weaves together brother and sister completely subverts the institution's purposes as ancient sources articulated them: if a strong city is built upon the union of diversified families and a strong family is built upon the union of diversified spouses, then the union of siblings, by definition, weakens the fabric of both. (Johnston 2009, 14)

But Arachne, like the daughters of Cecrops, is improperly introduced to motherhood too. This may have something to do with their common main attribute, the mastering of spinning/weaving, which may still hold contrasting connotations that they are unable to overcome. In relation to this, another myth, that of the birth of Erichthonius, here associated with the myth of Cecrops's daughters and the Arrhephoria, may be relevant.

The Birth of Erichthonius

The myth of the birth of Erichthonius, in the version given by Apollodorus, is the following:

> Cranaus was expelled by Amphictyon, who reigned in his stead; some say that Amphictyon was a son of Deucalion, others that he was a son of the soil; and when he had reigned twelve years he was expelled by Erichthonius. Some say that this Erichthonius was a son of Hephaestus and Atthis, daughter of Cranaus, and some that he was a son of Hephaestus and Athena, as follows: Athena came to Hephaestus, desirous of fashioning arms. But he, being forsaken by Aphrodite, fell in love with Athena, and began to pursue her; but she fled. When he got near her with much ado (for he was lame), he attempted to embrace her; but she, being a chaste virgin, would not submit to him, and he dropped his seed on the leg of the goddess. In disgust, she wiped off the seed with wool and threw it on the ground; and as she fled and the seed fell on the ground, Erichthonius was produced. Athena brought him up unknown to the other gods, wishing to make him immortal; and having put him in a chest, she committed it to Pandrosus, daughter of Cecrops, forbidding her to open the chest. But the sisters of Pandrosus opened it out of curiosity, and beheld a serpent coiled about the

> babe; and, as some say, they were destroyed by the serpent, but according to others they were driven mad by reason of the anger of Athena and threw themselves down from the Acropolis. Having been brought up by Athena herself in the precinct, Erichthonius expelled Amphictyon and became king of Athens; and he set up the wooden image of Athena in the Acropolis, and instituted the festival of the Panathenaea, and married Praxithea, a Naiad nymph, by whom he had a son Pandion. (Apollodorus 1921, bk 3, chap. 14, section 6)

The etymology of the name of Erichthonius is disputed among mythologists, some deriving it from *eris* (strife) and *chthon* (earth, the ground), while others from *erion* (wool) and chthon.

The story of the birth of Erichthonius and of the daughters of Cecrops is also hinted at several times in Euripides's tragedy *Ion* where Hermes describes how Creousa, daughter of Erechtheus, seduced by the god Apollo in a cave, gave birth to his son and then returned to the same cave and

> there exposed him to die in the round circle of a hollow cradle, observant of the customs of her ancestors, and of Erichthonius, the earth-born. For the daughter of Zeus set beside him two serpents to guard his body, and placed him into the charge of the daughters of Aglauros. (Euripides 1938, lines 20–25)

Euripides here describes a birth ritual according to which the Erechtheids (the descendants of Erechtheus), following the mythical description of the baby Erichthonius in the chest entwined with serpents, used to rear their children in cradles interwoven with golden serpents (Euripides 1938, lines 25–27 and 1430). The baby Erichthonius is described in Apollodorus's text as a purely human being with a serpent curled around him. According to Euripides (1938, lines 20–25), there were two such serpents in the chest. According to another tradition, Erichthonius was born a serpent or was serpent-footed.

These earthborn creatures are hinted at in the Oedipus myth too. As suggested in Vaz da Silva's analysis of Freudian and Lévi-Straussian theories on incest and its prohibition, Claude Lévi-Strauss, in his famous article 'The Structural Study of Myth',

> hinted that Freud's Oedipal scheme transposes a mythic theme of passage from ophidian unity into sexual procreation. More exactly, Lévi-Strauss asserted that Freud's problem concerning the Oedipus theme—that of understanding 'how one can be born from *two*: how is it that we do not have only one procreator, but a mother plus a father?'—is a variant of the Greek mythic theme of autochthony, represented by ophidian creatures, versus sexual reproduction. (Vaz da Silva 2007a, 9–10)

Thus, Lévi-Strauss interprets the Oedipus myth on the basis of a dialectic opposition between autochthony and sexual union. For Lévi-Strauss the Oedipus myth has to do with

> the inability, for a culture which holds the belief that mankind is autochthonous (see for instance, Pausanias, VIII, xxix, 4: vegetals provide a model for humans), to find a satisfactory transition between this story and the knowledge that human beings are actually born from the union of a man and a woman. Although the problem obviously cannot be solved, the Oedipus myth provides a kind of logical tool which, to phrase it coarsely, replaces the original problem: born from one or born from two? born from different or born from the same? By a correlation of this type, the overrating of blood relations is to the underrating of blood relations as the attempt to escape autochthony is to the impossibility to succeed in it.

Downloaded by [Library Services City University London] at 04:37 28 March 2016

> Although experience contradicts theory, social life verifies the cosmology by its similarity of structure. Hence cosmology is true. (Lévi-Strauss 1955, 434)

John Peradotto argues that the problem of autochthony is closer to the manifest content of the Erichthonius myth. Peradotto sees Erichthonius as a mediating figure who resolves the old autochthony contradiction by being at one and the same time autochthonous and the product of sexual transaction (Peradotto 1977, 94).

But is this the case? What is described in the Apollodorus's story is not a sexual union but a procedure of procreation, the unspun wool corresponding to an as yet unborn child, coming from the earth (the primordial womb). Instead of resolving the old contradiction, the myth of Erichthonius reproduces it by offering another type of correlation, between autochthony and the spinning/weaving process as methods of procreation. The wool here procured by the female weaving goddess stands for a procreative substance-material not yet spun/woven; the ophidian creature produced by it is put into a basket (also a womb) entrusted by Athena (a great weaver) to the daughters of Cecrops (also great weavers, since Aglauros and Pandrosus were the first wool-makers and the first to weave clothing for the people of Athens) who should in their turn now resolve the contradiction of the spinning/weaving metaphor. The premature opening of the basket with Erichthonius inside confronts the daughters of Cecrops with a transgression referring to procreation and motherhood rather than sexuality and marriage.

Arachne too, another weaver, is introduced to sexuality in a wrong or transgressive way. This applies to motherhood too, since her incestuous union results in her transformation into an endlessly spinning creature (spider) and to the creation of cannibal children.

These spinning/weaving myths are thus articulated around a recurrent mythic opposition: that of the one procreator, the female spinner who fabricates a baby from unspun wool, versus sexual union and reproduction symbolized in the woven robe (the interlacing of warp and woof) as a metaphor of conjugal relations. The incestuous unions in which mythical great spinners (Athena and Arachne) are involved exhibit a disastrous attempt at conciliation of these two different spheres, through the enactment of a socially prohibited act.

Conclusion

Spinning, as a polyvalent symbol, is related in multiple ways to the complex mother–daughter relationship which shapes the latter's initiation into womanhood. Both in myth and in folktale, spinning tests as a symbolic entry into motherhood were part of a young girl's initiation. However, compared with the mythic pattern, the folktale is different in many ways. Spinning perceived as a knowledge transferred from mother to daughter forms part of a broader symbolism about the acquisition of motherly qualities (the recurrent image of the unspun wool turned to spun thread is complemented by the idea of the hungry child); the spinning test is failed at least in the first part of the tale, because of a problematic or weakened female pair of mother and daughter(s), consequently destroyed by matricidal-cannibalistic nuances, explicit or implicit. But then, as if starting again (following the Proppian concept of moves), the tale exposes an alternative scenario: after her actual death the mother is restored in a state of powerful

Downloaded by [Library Services City University London] at 04:37 28 March 2016

spinner in a disguised form (as magical spinning animal) performing spinning and other motherly qualities (like feeding) successfully. In the oikotypical Greek versions, the female spinner is hidden behind another symbol, which is superimposed: the grateful dead. The dead mother ensures a successful sexual initiation for her daughter when her bones are transformed into magnificent nuptial robes. Nevertheless, this is made possible only under the condition of the respect of the cannibalism taboo (the heroine abstains from the cannibalistic supper) and of the execution of the appropriate funerary cults.

Thus, unlike the mythical spinners who are caught between conflicting belief systems, failing both the sexual initiation and the motherhood test (and reduced to death or to non-human existence), the heroine of the folktale succeeds in both through the intervention of the feminine ancestor figure procuring a source of abundance. This mother-figure, participating both in the sphere of human and of the demonic, mediates also between dominant and peripheral value systems.

One may wonder which connotations these old symbols may hold for modern folktale audiences. To answer this question another examination should be undertaken of more ephemeral contexts of social organization, where the roles of women as mothers and daughters have been constantly negotiated in the framework of patriarchal local communities.

Downloaded by [Library Services City University London] at 04:37 28 March 2016

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the Editor of *Folklore*, the Assistant Editor of *Folklore*, the anonymous referees, Professor Dan Ben-Amos, and Emeritus Professor Michalis Meraklis for most valuable and insightful comments. All remaining errors are mine.

Notes

[1] Unlike the heterogeneity of the introductory motifs, the main part of the tale has a noteworthy stable structure consisting of episodes and motifs the presence of which is attested in ancient sources. The motif of the slipper test appears in the writings of Strabo and Claudius Aelianus in connection with the story of the *hetaera* (courtesan) Rhodopis (the legend of Rhodopis was already known to Herodotus, where the particular motif is not mentioned). Ben-Amos, in his comprehensive analysis of the relevant classical literature, points to the aetiological legend of the constellation of Aquila, where an eagle sent by Jupiter snatches the sandal of Venus (Ben-Amos 2011, 420–21). Brouskou proposes another classical source as the origin of the 'Cinderella Cycle', again in the writings of Herodotus but connected with a different legend, the narrative about the daughter of the king of Egypt, Mykerinus (Megas et al. 2012, 182–84).

[2] Modern Greek has retained a similar analogy in the word *fournia*, meaning literally the number of products baked at once in an oven, and metaphorically a new group of usually young persons (a new class of schoolchildren, a group of students attending a university programme each year, etc.).

[3] For an early literary version of this motif, see J. Praetorius, *Abentheuerlicher Gluecks-Topf* (The fantastic pot of luck) (1669) = Uther 1990, no. 6.

[4] Striglas are mortal women or female demons described by Ovid in *Fasti* (book 6) as birds—'est illis strigibus nomen'—who eat infants or suck their blood (Alton 2005; see also Politis 1871–74, 1: 182). Gello is the name of a female demon attested by the ancient Greek poet Sappho. Gello was further associated with various myths in ancient Greek and Byzantine literature. Similarly to these ancient beliefs, in modern

Greek folklore she is a female demon responsible for the premature deaths of children, who are called for that reason *gillobrota*, 'eaten by Gello'.

[5] For example, the importance of matrilineal kinship is evident. In technical terms, this designates descent from the mother. The Albanians use the terms *giri/gini* (breast) and *bark* (belly), while the Serbs have the terms *srodstvo po mleku* (from milk). Matriliny is reflected in oaths ('to the breasts of my mother'); in taboos (persons who were fed from the breasts of the same woman cannot get married); in burial customs (the exposure of an old woman's breasts before burial in Albanian custom); and in matrimonial strategies. This last category can be seen in Greece, where in cases in which families have no boys they can arrange for one of their daughters to bring her bridegroom (called *sogambros*) into their house. The sogambros and his children take the last name of his father-in-law, thus interrupting for a generation the patrilineal descent (Alexakis 1999, 57–60).

[6] For example, the Macedonian legend (from Kalybia Pellas in Greece) about the bet between the ascetic Isaiah and the lamia shows such a symbolic dismissal of matriliny: Isaiah had a sister whose children were swallowed by the lamia. The lamia agreed to bring out the children from her belly only if the ascetic could spit out the milk of his mother. The ascetic managed to do that with the help of God, thus denying his own mother. In Albanian legends, Koultsendra (a type of lamia) battles with the *drac* (ogre) using as a weapon the milk from her breasts. In other variants, she is the mother of the ogre, feeding him from her breasts (Alexakis 1999, 60–65). In beliefs of the Pomaks in Greece, mothers who are breastfeeding their infants are afraid that serpents will come to steal their milk (Tsibiridou 2000, 276). These archaic legends present analogies with the *kourotrophos* (breastfeeding) goddess who appears at certain times in the form of a serpent feeding her ophidian baby (a snake-like dragon) in statues from the Balkans and other parts of Europe since prehistory (Alexakis 1999, 65–66).

[7] The contrasting qualities and the enduring force of these archaic feminine deities are analysed by Michalis Meraklis in his as yet unpublished book, *Ancient Drama and Folklore in Classical Athens*.

[8] In folk religion kallikantzaroi were supernatural beings of chthonian nature. They are represented as malevolent, grotesque creatures who visit humans during the period from Christmas to Epiphany.

[9] See the argument of Michèle Simonsen regarding Danish legends about matricidal revenants: these stories are concrete, particularized, and well-circumstanced narratives, presenting all the stylistic traits of memorates, thus seeking to affirm the veracity of the reported facts through the precise indication of names of the persons and regions referred to. This shows that the murder of an undesirable newborn was plausible and verifiable as well. At the same time, these narratives show that these stories engaged the members of a community emotionally in a very profound way, since infanticide was considered a temptation for many individuals and, at the same time, a crime to be prevented or punished (Simonsen 2012, 37–38).

[10] Stories about changelings are based on the belief that fairies may steal young human children from their mothers, leaving in their place a wizened, peevish, ravenous substitute who should be evicted by violence or abandonment.

[11] The nocturnal travel of the Arrhephoroi is not the only initiation rite young Athenian girls followed. The case of the 'little bears' in the sanctuary of Artemis in Brauron is another one. Pierre Vidal-Naquet argues that the name of the animal represented by young girls, the name of Artemis (a deity of wild nature), the indications of the scholiasts about this cult and about other sanctuaries of Artemis in Attica, and the archaeological evidence dating from the first half of the fifth century BC, leave no doubt about the character of the rite: it was a form of seclusion which preceded (by far), and prepared girls for, marriage (Vidal-Naquet 1992, 204). The activities during this seclusion, according to the aetiological legends explaining the rite, meant that young girls were guarded before their marriages, even before puberty, in order to undergo a period of ritual 'savagery' (Vidal-Naquet 1992, 205). The examination of ceramic evidence from Brauron shows that the rites in honour of the goddess required, alternately, nudity and the wearing of a cloth (the *crocote*) which marked the passage from savagery to civilization.

Downloaded by [Library Services City University London] at 04:37 28 March 2016

Downloaded by [Library Services City University London] at 04:37 28 March 2016

References Cited

Alexakis, Eleutherios P. 'Gynaikes, gala syggeneia: koina palaiovalkanika stoicheia ston laiko politismo tvn Valkanikon Laon' [Women, milk, kinship: Palaeo-Balkanic common traits in the folk culture of Balkan peoples]. *Epetiris Kentrou Hellinikis Laographias* 28 (1999): 43–68.

Alton, E. H., D. E .W. Wormell, and E. Courtney. *Ovidius Fasti* [Ovid's book of days]. Bibliotheca Teubneriana. Munich and Leipzig: K. G. Saur, 2005.

Angélopoulos, Anna. 'Fuseau de cendres' [Spindle of ashes]. *Cahiers de Littérature Orale* 25 (1989): 71–95.

Apollodorus. *The Library, Volume II, Book 3.10—end. Epitome*. Translated by James G. Frazer. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921.

Argenti, P. P., and H. J. Rose. *The Folklore of Chios*. Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949.

Avdikos, Evangelos. 'Vampire Stories in Greece and the Reinforcement of Socio-Cultural Norms'. *Folklore* 124, no. 3 (December 2013): 307–26.

Belmont, Nicole. *Mythe, conte et enfance. Les écritures d' Orphée et de Cendrillon* [Myth, tale, and childhood. Writings about Orpheus and Cinderella]. Paris: L' Harmattan, 2010.

Ben-Amos, Dan. *Folktales of the Jews*. Vol. 3: *Tales from Arab Lands*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2011.

———. 'Introduction'. In *Folklore Genres*, edited by Dan Ben-Amos, ix-xlv. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976.

Brednich, R. W. *Volkserzählungen und Volksglaube von den Schicksalsfrauen* [Folk narratives and folk beliefs about the Fates]. Folklore Fellows' Communications 193. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1964.

Brouskou, Aegli. 'Enfants vendus, enfants promis' [Children sold, children promised]. *L' Homme* 105 (1988): 76–87.

Burkert, Walter. 'The Legend of Kekrops's Daughters and the Arrhephoria: From Initiation Ritual to Panathenaic Festival'. In *Savage Energies: Lessons of Myth and Ritual in Ancient Greece*, 37–63. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.

Chatzitaki-Kapsomenou, Chrysoula. *Thesauros neohellinikon ainogmaton* [Thesaurus of neohellenic riddles]. Herakleion: Crete University Press, 2000.

Chryssantopoulou, Vassiliki. 'Nani pou to sperne aitos tsai pou to genna kori: H genisi ston ellinofono choro kata ton 19o kai to proto miso toy 20ou aiona' [Sleep, my child, whom an eagle fathered and a young woman gave birth to: Birth in Greek-speaking areas in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century]. *Archaiologia kai Technes* 104 (2007): 45–54.

Dawkins, R. M. *Forty-five Stories from the Dodekanese*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950.

Drettas, Georges. *La mère et l'outil. Contribution à l'étude sémantique du tissage rural dans la Bulgarie actuelle* [The mother and the tool. Contribution to the semantic study of rural weaving in present-day Bulgaria]. Paris: Société d'Études Linguistiques et Anthropologiques de France, 1980.

Eliade, Mircea. *Patterns in Comparative Religion*. Translated by Rosemary. Sheed. London and New York: Sheed & Ward, 1958.

Euripides. *Ion*. Translated by Robert Potter. Vol. 1 of *The Complete Greek Drama*, edited by W. J. Oates and E. O'Neill, Jr. New York: Random House, 1938. Available online at the Perseus Project: www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/

Freud, Sigmund. 'Le thème des trois coffrets' [The theme of the three caskets]. In *Essais de psychanalyse appliquée* [Essays in applied psychoanalysis], 87–103. Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1971. First published in German as 'Das Motiv der Kästchenwahl', 1913.

Giacomo-Marcellesi, Mathée. 'La Cendrillon corse et les pièges de l'oralité' [The Corsican Cinderella and the traps of orality]. *Cahiers de Littérature Orale* 25 (1989): 97–131.

Harte, Jeremy. 'Murder in Fairyland: A Social History of Changelings'. Paper presented at the Folklore Society's AGM & Conference on 'Childlore, and the Folklore of Childhood'. University of Worcester, 15–17 April 2011.

Holbek, Bengt. *Interpretation of Fairy Tales. Danish Folklore in a European Perspective*. Folklore Fellows' Communications 239. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1998.

Johnston, Sarah Iles. 'A New Web for Arachne'. In *Antike Mythen: Medien, Transformationen und Konstruktionen* [Ancient myths: media, transformations and constructions], edited by Ueli Dill and Christine Walde, 1–22. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009.

Kanellakis, K. N. *Chiaka Analecta* [Miscellanea from Chios]. Athens: Brothers Perri, 1890.

Katrinaki, Emmanouela. *Le Cannibalisme dans le conte merveilleux grec. Questions d'interprétation et de typologie* [Cannibalism in the Greek magic tale. Questions of interpretation and typology]. Folklore Fellows' Communications 295. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 2008.

———. 'Les femmes, les fées et leurs enfants. Aspects de la maternité dans les légendes et les croyances grecques' [Women, fairies and their children. Maternity aspects in Greek legends and beliefs]. In *Imaxes de muller. Representación da feminidade en mitos, contos e lendas* [Images of woman. Representation of femininity in myths, tales and legends], edited by Camiño Noa, 21–30. Vigo: Universidade de Vigo, 2012.

Klíma, Josef R. 'Asche'. In *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* [Encyclopedia of fairy tales], vol. 1, 855–59. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1977.

Köhler-Zülch Ines. 'Die Drei Spinnfrauen (AaTh/ATU 501)' [The three spinners (AaTh/ATU 501)]. In *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 12, 1064–68. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007.

Korre-Zografou, Katerina. *Anthropoi kai paradosiaka epaggelmata sto Aigaio I–III* [People and traditional professions in the Aegean Sea I–III]. Athens: Foundation of the Hellenic World, 2004–10.

Lambakis, Stelios. *Oi katabasis ston Kato Kosmo sti byzantini kai sti metabyzantimi logotexnia* [Descents to the underworld in Byzantine and post-Byzantine literature]. PhD diss., University of Ioannina, Greece, 1982.

Lawson, John Cuthbert. *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 'The Structural Study of Myth'. *Journal of American Folklore* 68, no. 270 (1955): 428–44.

Loukatos, Dimitrios S. 'To paramythi tis Staktoboutas stis xenes kai ellinikes parallages' [The folktale of Cinderella in foreign and Greek versions]. *Parnassos* 1 (1959): 461–85.

Megas, Georgios A. 'Die Moiren als funktioneller Faktor im Neugriechischen Märchen' [The Moirai as functional factor in neohellenic tales]. *Laographia* 25 (1967): 316–32.

Megas, Georgios A., A. Angelopoulos, A. Brouskou, M. Kaplanoglou, and E. Katrinaki. *Catalogue of Greek Magic Folktales*. Folklore Fellows' Communications 303. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 2012.

Mencej, Mirjam. 'Connecting Threads'. *Folklore: Electronic Journal of Folklore* 48 (2011): 66–69.

Meraklis, Michalis G. *Laographika zitimata* [Folklore matters]. Athens: X. Boura, 1989.

———. *To laiko paramythi. Keimena paramythologias* [The folktale. Texts on folktale scholarship]. Athens: Ellinika Grammata, 1999.

———. *Damals–Heute–Damals. Einführung in die griechische Volkskunde* [Back then–today–back then. Introduction to Greek folk culture]. Cologne: Romiosini, 2000.

Nicander. *Nicandri Theriaca. Eiusdem Alexipharmaca. Interpretatio innominati autoris in Theriaca. Comentarii diuersor autor in Alexipharmaca* [Theriaca of Nicander. Of the same Alexipharmaca. An anonymous author's interpretation of Theriaca. Comments of different authors on Alexipharmaca]. Cologne: Soteris, 1530.

Oikonomides, Dimitrios B. 'H Gello eis tin Ellinikin kai Roumanikin Laographian' [Gello in Greek and Romanian folklore]. *Laographia* 12 (1975–76): 246–78.

Olsen, Birgit. 'And They Embroidered All Sorts of Embroidery'. *Copenhagen Folklore Notes* 4 (1999): 1–6.

Downloaded by [Library Services City University London] at 04:37 28 March 2016

Paliouritis, Grigorios. *Archaeologia Helliniki* [Greek archaeology]. Vol. 2. Vienna: Nikolao Glykei, 1815.

Peradotto, John. 'Oedipus and Erichthonius: Some Observations on Paradigmatic and Syntagmatic Order'. *Arethusa* 10, no. 1 (1977): 85–101.

Perco, Daniela. 'Female Initiation in Northern Italian Versions of "Cinderella"'. *Western Folklore* 52, no. 1 (1993): 73–84.

Politis, Nikolaos G. *Meleti epi tou viou ton neoteron Ellinon-Neoelliniki Mythologia* [Study of the life of modern Greeks—modern Greek mythology]. 2 vols. Athens: Brothers Perri, 1871–74.

———. *Paradoseis* [Legends]. Athens: P. D. Sakellariou, 1904.

Polymerou-Kamilaki, Aikaterini. 'Otan svini i fotia . . . I diaxeirisi tis tefras' (When the fire goes out . . . The managing of the ashes). In *I fotia pigi zois, dinamis kai katharmou* (Fire, source of life, power and purification), edited by Maria Augouli, Eleni Romaiou-Karastamati, and Giorgos Speis, 31–38. Athens: Melt, 2013.

Rooth, Anna Birgitta. *The Cinderella Cycle*. Lund: Gleerup, 1951.

Rumpf, Marianne. 'Spinnerinnen und Spinnen. Märchendeutungen aus kulturhistorischer Sicht' [Spinning women and spinning. Interpretations of fairy tales from the viewpoint of cultural history]. In *Die Frau im Märchen* [Women in fairy tales], edited by Sigrid Früh and Rainer Wehse, 59–72. Kassel: Erich Röth, 1985.

Scheid, John, and Svenbro Jesper. *Le métier de Zeus. Myth du tissage et du tissu dans le monde gréco-romain* [The craft of Zeus. Myths of weaving and fabric in the Greco-Roman world]. Paris: Éditions de la Découverte, 1994.

Schlepp, Wayne. 'Cinderella in Tibet'. *Asian Folklore Studies* 61, no. 1 (2002): 123–47.

Simonsen, Michèle. 'Culture and Symbols. Some Thoughts about Bengt Holbek's Interpretation of Fairy Tales'. *Estudos de Litteratura Oral* 4 (1998): 209–14.

———. 'La maternité dans le légendaire danois' [Maternity in Danish legends]. In *Imaxes de muller. Representación da feminidade en mitos, contos e lendas* [Images of woman. Representation of femininity in myths, tales and legends], edited by Camiño Noa, 31–40. Vigo: Universidade de Vigo, 2012.

Tsibiridou, Fotini. *Les Pomak dans la Thrace Greque: Discours ethnique et pratiques socioculturelles* [The Pomaks in Greek Thrace: Ethnic discourse and socio-cultural practices]. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2000.

Tsitsipis, Dimitris L. *To Dadi* [The village of Dadi]. Athens: n. pub., 1981.

Uther, Hans-Jörg. *Märchen vor Grimm* [Grimms' fairy tales]. Munich: Diederichs, 1990.

———. *The Types of International Folktales: A Classification and Bibliography*. Parts 1–3. Folklore Fellows' Communications 284–86. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 2011.

Vaz da Silva, Francisco. 'Symbolic Themes in the European Cinderella Cycle'. *Southern Folklore* 57, no. 2 (2000a): 159–80.

———. 'Cinderella the Dragon-Slayer'. *Studia Mythologica Slavica* 3 (2000b): 187–204.

———. 'Folklore in Theory: Freud and Lévi-Strauss on Incest and Marriage'. *Journal of Folklore Research* 44, no. 1 (2007a): 1–19.

———. 'Red as Blood, White as Snow, Black as Crow: Chromatic Symbolism of Womanhood in Fairy Tales'. *Marvels & Tales: Journal of Fairy-Tale Studies* 21, no. 2 (2007b): 240–52.

———. *Archeology of Intangible Heritage*. New York: Peter Lang, 2008.

———. 'Why Cinderella's Mother Becomes a Cow'. *Marvels & Tales: Journal of Fairy-Tale Studies* 28, no. 1 (2014): 25–37.

Verdier, Yvonne. *Façons de dire, façons de faire* [Ways of saying, ways of doing]. Paris: Gallimard, 1979.

———. 'Le Petit Chaperon Rouge dans la tradition orale' [Red Riding Hood in oral tradition]. In *Coutume et destin* [Customs and destiny], 171–206. Paris: Gallimard, 1995.

Downloaded by [Library Services City University London] at 04:37 28 March 2016

Vidal-Naquet, Pierre. *La Grèce ancienne*. Vol. 3: *Rites de passage et transgressions* [Ancient Greece. Vol. 3: Rites of passage and transgressions]. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1992.

Wehse, Rainer. 'Cinderella (AaTh 510A)'. In *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 3, 39–57. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1981.

Weigle, Marta. *Creation and Procreation: Feminist Reflections on Mythologies of Cosmogony and Parturition*. Publications of the American Folklore Society. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989.

Xanthakou, Margarita. *Cendrillon et les soeurs cannibales. De la Staktobouta maniote (Grèce) à l'approche de l'anthropophagie intraparentale imaginaire* [Cinderella and her cannibal sisters. From the Staktobouta from Mani (Greece) to the approach of imaginary intraparental anthropophagy]. Paris: EHESS, 1995.

Downloaded by [Library Services City University London] at 04:37 28 March 2016

Biographical Note

Marianthi Kaplanoglou is associate professor of Folklore Studies at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece. She is a member of the editing group of the Catalogue of Greek Magic Folktales (FFC 303). Her research interests focus on the social history of folklore, folk narrative, and children's folklore.